





HAWTHORNE'S MARBLE FAUN. IN THE CAPITOLINE MUSEUM AT ROME. THE BEST-KNOWN AMONG NUMEROUS ROMAN COPIES OF A GREEK ORIGINAL BY PRAXITELES (FOURTH CENTURY B. C.). SEE POEM ON PAGE 209.

# ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

VOLUME I

MARCH 1915

NUMBER 5



FIG. 1. THE *PRAECEPTA ANIO*.

## A VISIT TO HORACE'S SABINE FARM

ELIZABETH HAZELTON HAIGHT

WHEN we started from Rome on the morning of August 15, 1913, in quest of Horace's farm, we had in mind the vivid picture that Horace himself furnishes of the Sabine hills and the country near. We knew that we would come to the *praecepta Anio* (fig. 1) and the orchards watered by fast-flowing streams, and that we would see care-free Tibur (figs. 2, 3) which the poet prayed might be the abode of his old age and where,

around the groves and banks of the Anio, the Matinian bee had gathered the honey of his poems.

But his own farm was farther on up among the lofty Sabines, a very citadel and yet in a retired valley far from the smoke and wealth and noise of Rome. It was a little farm, *parva rura*, indeed—an answer to his prayers, with a moderate extent of land, a garden, a spring of living water near the house,

and, in addition, a small woodland. The mountains around would be continuous were they not broken by a dark valley so that the rising sun looked on the right side and the setting warmed the left. Even the brambles were kindly and bore cornel-berries and plums. Oak and ilex gave food to the flock and shade to the master; and the spring was fit to give its name to a river. The spring was perhaps the *fons Bandusiae*; the river was the Digentia. One of the mountains near was Lucretilis.

There was one tree on the farm which Horace loved, the pine towering over his villa, which he dedicated to the maid Diana, but another tree was a sorry log that almost fell on the head of its innocent master—would indeed have carried him off, had not Bacchus (or was it Mercury, or the Muses, or Faunus?) saved him.

Faunus indeed often left Arcadia for Mount Lucretilis and warded off summer's heat from the little goats. The strains of his pipes could be heard across the sunny fields. A charmed life flocks and master led, for in the Sabine wood a wolf once fled from Horace himself though he had no weapon. It paid to be *integer vitae scelerisque purus*, or to have a song to laughing Lalage upon one's lips in time of danger.

And after such hazardous wanderings beyond the confines of the farm, it was pleasant to come back to the house again though in it there was no ivory or gold shining in panelled ceiling, and there were no columns of African marble supporting architraves from Hymettus; no *atrium* with pillars in the new style. It was just a little country place, a *villula*, but the house was warm in winter. There was a steward, a *vilicus*, in charge, with eight laborers who worked the farm, and then there was Davus, the faithful slave who

spoke his mind to his master. Five peasant farmers, *boni patres*, went up from the farm to Varia. The *vilicus* grumbled about the farm because it was deserted and inhospitable, because there was no bakeshop near, nor tavern to give him wine, nor music girl to pipe for his dancing, and the stream made him trouble in time of rains because it had to be taught by many a dike to spare the sunny meadow. But here Horace was happy enough, with short dinners and sleep on the grass near the stream. Sometimes he took a hand at turning the glebes and the rocks while his neighbors smiled. But the cool stream of Digentia refreshed him and at Rome he was only too glad when he could pack up Plato and Menander, Eupolis and Archilochus, and with his ancient books go off to the country to read and write, and from sleep and lazy hours to quaff a happy forgetfulness of a careworn life.

*O Noctes cenaque deum!* The menu for those banquets fit for the gods is not one to set a Cynic snarling—beans (alas for Pythagoras!), cabbage, bacon, olives, only Sabine *Ordinaire* to drink, made by the poet himself, but there was no *magister bibendi* to stint the goblets. And the conversations were worth while—not idle gossip about the villas and houses of one's friends and the latest dancers, but the great subjects which count: whether happiness is based on wealth or virtue; what makes up friendship, self-interest, or character; and what is the greatest thing in life. Sometimes, too, old wives' tales were told.

No wonder Maecenas could be enticed here from his palace towering to the lofty stars, even without bribe of cask of wine ne'er broached before or of garlands of roses. One can see the preparations for the guest—the silver shining, the altar





FIG. 2. A TEMPLE AT TIVOLI.

decorated with fresh boughs, the slaves busily running about, and the hearth fire sending forth bright flames. No wonder that here Tyndaris came singing with her lyre, to receive the cornucopia of gifts that country of plenty offered. And Tibullus, philosopher and gentleman who loved to saunter in silence through the health-giving forest—did he too accept Horace's invitation and go up to the Sabine farm to have a laugh at the owner—fat, sleek, his hide well cared for, a very hog of Epicurus' sty? Probably Aristius Fuscus did not go out there, for (though one of Horace's warmest friends) he was but a city chap at best, and not a lover of the streams of the delightful country, her moss-grown

rocks and woods. We would hardly meet him there.

Yes, we were expecting to see Horace and his friends. It was all as vivid as though we were going to Slabside to see John Burroughs. Suddenly, we came

back, as if from a dream, to the twentieth century, the *Fiat* car, and the Baedeker in hand.

The Baedeker afforded us but little information, as we sped along the *Via Tiburtina*, about the site for which we were

looking. No ancient landmarks guided us, but the Sabine hills were ahead of us and before we came to Tivoli, we crossed the *praeceptus Anio*, still a rushing stream between green banks (fig. 1). The Anio is what gives Tivoli its beauty now as it did to Tibur of old, and we had to look once again at its natural falls and at the wonderful uses of its waters in the beautiful gardens of the Villa d'Este (fig. 3).

From Tivoli we took the ancient *Via*

*Valeria* which follows the winding course of the Anio, and six and three-quarters miles beyond came to the walled town of Vico Varo, Horace's *Varia* (fig. 4). Here we left the car and walked up through the village. A piece of wall was the only



FIG. 3. FALLS AT TIVOLI.

trace of the old city, for the chief object of interest, the little octagonal church, goes back only to the fifteenth century. But the street life was most picturesque. The day was a *festa*, and men, women, and children were out in holiday attire. They were friendly simple people, off the line of tourists, and so unspoiled that even the children did not beg.

Just beyond Vico Varo our course turned at right angles up the valley of the Licenza (probably Horace's Digentia), a pebbly river bed, wet with only a thin stream of water in August, but somehow making all the valley green (fig. 5). We did not take the side road turning on the left to Rocca Giovane; so we missed seeing the inscription there which has helped place Horace's farm in this locality. In *Epistles* I, 10, 49, Horace, you remember, told Fuscus:

"These words I wrote you behind the crumbling shrine of Vacuna:"

Haec tibi dictabam post fanum putre  
Vacunae.

We know from the scholia that the Sabine goddess Vacuna was identified by Varro with Victoria, and the inscription found here (now built into the wall of an old castle) shows that the Emperor Vespasian restored here a temple to Victoria at his own expense. This shrine is probably the one behind which Horace wrote his epistle; so Rocca Giovane must, it is thought, have been easily near his villa. But just where was the villa?

Here in the valley of the Digentia, thirty-two miles from Rome, fourteen from Tivoli, two sites have been rivals for the honor of having borne Horace's farm. In the second half of the eighteenth century, two scholars claimed that they had discovered the true site of the farm. The French abbé, Bertrand Capmartin de Chaupy, published 1767-1769 a work in



FIG. 4. STREET SCENE IN VICO VARO.

three volumes entitled *Découverte de la maison de campagne d'Horace*, and an Italian lawyer, Domenico de Sanctis, published in 1761 a work called *Dissertazione sopra la villa d'Orazio*. Each gentleman claims the honor of placing Horace's villa and accuses the other of having stolen his thunder. The trouble was that both agreed in placing the site in the lower part of the Licenza valley near its three branching streams and near the hill village of Licenza. But about 1857 Pietro Rosa declared himself in favor of another site only a quarter of a mile from Rocca Giovane and on much higher ground (650 meters above sea level while the site urged by de Sanctis is only 384). Boissier in *The Country of Horace and Vergil* supports Pietro Rosa's site.

Now it is to be remembered as we examine the excavations that have been made

of the site near Licenza, first, that the site favored by Pietro Rosa near Rocca Giovane has not yet been excavated, and, second, that since Cavaliere Angelo Pasqui has not published the results of his excavations at Licenza, we have not before us the proofs for his belief that this house is a building of the Augustan age and Horace's own villa, but nevertheless his excavations are on the site more generally accepted by the archaeologists as suiting better Horace's own description, and what he has found is of the greatest interest.

I confess that the disputes of archaeologists were not prominent in our minds when in August of 1913 as we sped up the valley of the Digentia, we came suddenly upon a foot-path branching back to the left marked with a sign-board bearing the words

*Villa d'Orazio Flacco.*

The Italian label carried conviction and we descended in excitement. At the foot of the path, we were met by De Rossi Nicola, "Caposquadra degli scavi della villa d'Orazio, Licenza," he told us proudly and he promised to act as our guide for the *scavi*. We found he was there to be a guard no less than a guide and to our great disappointment he told us that we were not allowed to take pictures, or draw plans, or make measurements of the excavations. "The hills,—yes; the *scavi*, no!" But one excellent picture was taken before his injunction was heard, fortunately! And for the rest, I consoled myself by taking pictures of the *continui montes*. The valley, running north and south, does permit the rising sun to warm the right side, and the setting sun the left. Horace is describing the valley from the direction in which his house faces, that is to the south. This

suits the plan of the villa uncovered (fig. 6). The house faced south and in front was a garden which occupied about four-fifths of the ground. In the center of the garden was a large fish-pond, two meters deep, and around the garden on the three sides away from the house, was a cryptoporticus. It is this porticus which has aroused the incredulity of the learned who declare that Horace with all his protestations of the simple life never would have indulged in such a pretentious villa as this. Did he not indeed particularly comment on the fact that in the old days "no porticus measured by a ten-foot measuring rod and facing the cool north was owned by private citizens," and would he himself have had in his villa so elaborate a portico? But Horace was never noted for his consistency, and in *Satires* II, 3, 308, Damasippus accuses him of inconsistency on just this point.

*Aedificas*, "You are building," he said. "You are building, that is, you are imitating the great—Now is it appropriate for you to do whatever Maecenas does and to rival him when you are so different and so much less important?"

Perhaps it was just this cryptoporticus which Horace was adding to his *villula* that awakes Damasippus' comment.

The house itself is small enough. It lies on the north side of the garden and is reached by five steps from the cryptoporticus at each end and by five from the garden, in the center. Across the front of the house there is a hall out of which the rooms open. In the center there is one room larger than the others directly opposite the steps, a room which the Italians call the *triclinium*. It has a *compluvium* in the center, but no pillars to awaken envy. There were three rooms to the right of this central room and three to the left, so that the house is ap-

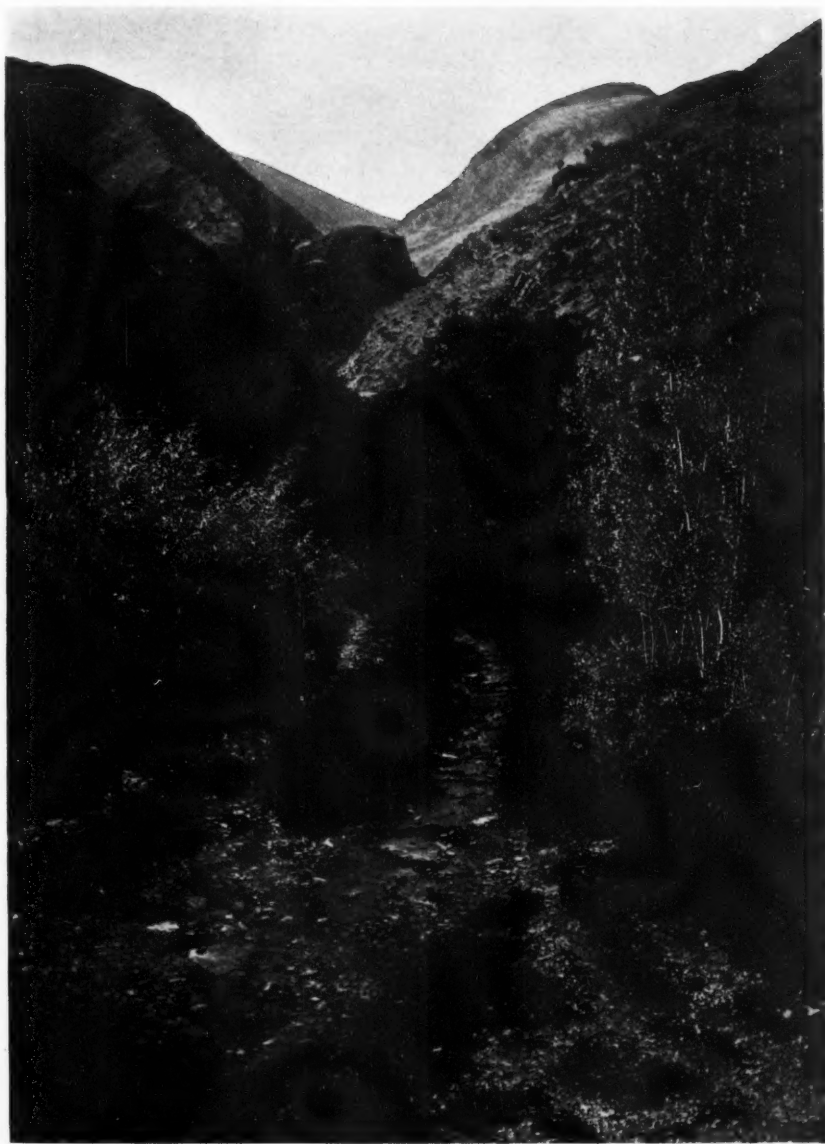


FIG. 5. THE LICENZA RIVER (THE DIGENTIA?) AND THE HILLS TO THE NORTH.

proximately symmetrical, though the proportions of the rooms are not identical. The group of rooms at the east has a pavement of fine mosaic work. A star pattern appears in the most easterly room, a ray pattern in the room next to the *triclinium* on the east. There were two colors in all the mosaics that we saw: black and ivory-white or ecru. In the rooms at the west of the *triclinium*, the tesserae of the mosaics are much larger, and for this reason these rooms have been called the servants' quarters. We saw a piece of this coarser mosaic in a room to the rear. The pattern was again geometric, in large diamonds, and the colors were the same. In the first room to the west of the *atrium*, the base of a column stands in the center.

Back of the front row of rooms is another straight passageway, and north of this were other rooms on each side of the house, apparently, with a garden between them. Here, at a much later time, a *Nymphaeum* was built, rectangular in shape, with a water course around it and four apses on the sides. The walls of all the rooms in the house seem to have been restored to the height of about a foot and a half out of the material found and are of regular *opus reticulatum* of hard white limestone.

More elaborate than the plan of this simple little house are the ruins of the baths which have been uncovered to the west of the house. An aqueduct follows the line of the west cryptoporticus and separates Horace's villa from the bath-structures, which are probably of the time of the Antonines. There is one large, oval *frigidarium* here to the west of the cryptoporticus. It has eight niches with triangular-shaped tops around it, and the holes for the entrance and egress of the water are visible. Over this

*frigidarium* a mediaeval church was built; its door and part of its wall can be seen on the west side. A mediaeval cemetery was made under the church by cutting a trench through the floor of the bath, and in this several skeletons were found with medals about their necks dating from the sixth or the seventh century. In the group of the so-called Baths of the Antonines, there are also a *tepidarium* with a hypocaust floor and the furnace room with a hot-air passage connecting it with the hypocaust of the *tepidarium*.

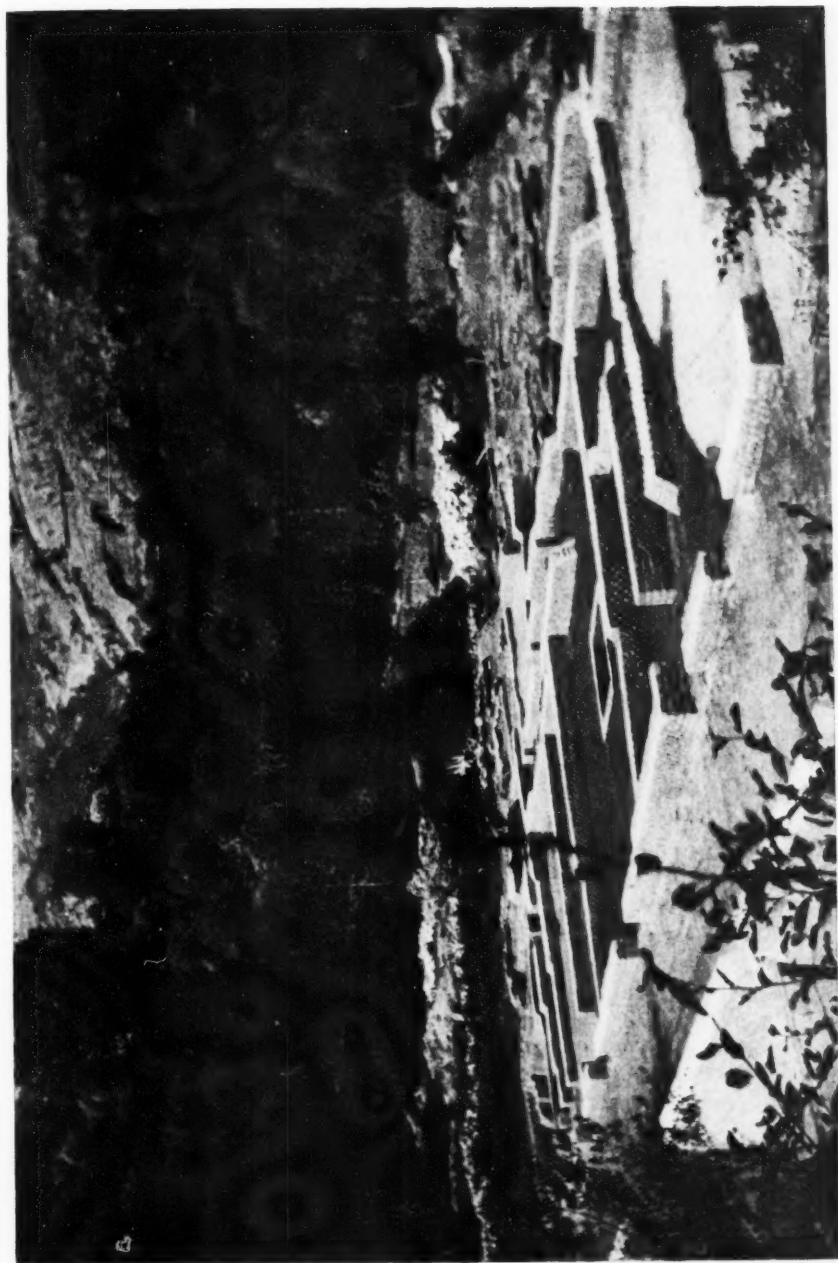
Another set of baths, said to belong to the time of Vespasian, lies to the north of this group, west of the house itself. There are an oblong *frigidarium* and an oblong *tepidarium* which seems to have been divided at a later period into two smaller rooms by a partition across. The hypocaust under the *tepidarium* is well preserved. This *tepidarium* of the "Baths of Vespasian" encroached upon the western side of the ground plan of "Horace's Villa."

After we had gone over the excavations, we ate our lunch under ilex and oak trees, gathered blackberries from the brambles, and drank a health to Horace in *vile Sabinum*, then with our guide walked west toward the highest mountain, perhaps Lucretilis. There above a vintager's thatched hut, we found a gushing *fons*. The water pours out cold and clear from under an arch of rocks, hurries on in a little brook, falls in two delicate streams over a high rock, green with moss and leaves, then disappears in the Licenza valley. De Rossi Nicola echoed Horace's

purae rivus aquae,

and was greatly disappointed that we would not drink. "It is good water," he reiterated in urgent Italian; "it is Horace's spring!" We diverted his dis-





Photograph by E. D. Pierce

FIG. 6. VIEW OF THE EXCAVATIONS, TAKEN FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

appointment by taking pictures of the *fons* and of the grove of silvery olive trees near.

Late in the afternoon our guide went with us across the stream to the little hill town of Licenza to show us the small objects which had been found in the *scavi*. Licenza is one of those towns perched, as Horace describes Acherontia, like a bird's nest high on the rocks. It mounts upwards by many steps, by winding narrow ways between gray stone and stucco houses. Up at the top of the town, in one room in an old house is what Paolo Giordani in his article in *La Lettura* calls "un vero e proprio Museo Oraziano." From the villa itself there are amphorae, fragments of marble and pieces of statues, and one little roguish faun's head which was on a fountain. There are pieces of pottery, red bowls of Arretine ware, and little lamps (one with the two horns on the bowl). We were shown also tesserae of mosaics that were on the wall, the predominating colors in dull greens and blues, with a few pieces of old rose. Many pieces of a thick opaque glass were found in the cryptoporticus. There are keys and spoons too from the house; some exquisite cameos and one gold ring of great value. These I did not see. We saw, however, the coins found in the villa, among them some of Julius Caesar, Agrippa, and Augustus. Dice were found, weights stamped with the seal of the inspector, bricks with the signature *Numeri Neri*. One curiosity is a *glirarium*, which I did not remember distinctly, a vase of terra-cotta, inverted, with holes

in it, used as a cage to force the growth of birds, a sort of incubator. A tombstone too was found (we were not told just where) with a representation of the four seasons and bearing the Horatian inscription:

"You are all doomed to die, but at least you have lived. In life, one eats and drinks; and so you ought to be content that you have lived."

From the baths also there are coins and stamped bricks, and from the so-called Baths of Vespasian there are many fragments of fresco from the walls with delicate decoration of small figures of persons and animals and with some garden scenes.

It was late in the afternoon when we finally forced ourselves to leave the valley of the Digentia. Whether or not the archaeologists decide that the plan of the villa of Quintus Horatius Flaccus is really before us, we shall always feel that we mounted to his Sabine citadel. No late rose lingered there, but we gathered clusters of tiny rose-pink stars and purple harebells and blue larkspur in lieu of myrtle, and weaving simple garlands, hung them on a tree, with prayers to Diana, guardian of mountains and of groves, and to Faunus, protector of the younglings of the flock, that they watch as of old over the dwelling of their votary, the poet. For ourselves, Horace phrased again our happy satisfaction over our journey to his hills:

Cressa ne careat pulchra dies nota,  
"White be the mark we make for day  
so fair."

Vassar College.





FIG. 11. THE THEATER AT ASPENDUS.

## THE ROMAN THEATER

(Concluded)

CHARLES KNAPP

One more point must be noticed before we leave the theaters at Pompeii described at the end of the first article in the last number of *Art and Archaeology*. The back wall of the stage (*scaena*) in the Roman theater was regularly pierced by three doorways. The stage-setting of a comedy (the Romans cared far more for comedy than for tragedy) called for a street, on which one, two, or three houses should be visible. The scenery was so arranged that the doorways of the houses called for by the play came opposite the doorways in the *scaena*. In each side-wall

of the stage there was, as one would suppose *a priori*, a wide entrance to the stage. A peculiar convention obtained with respect to the significance of these side-entrances to the stage—a convention useful indeed, since there were no programmes. If an actor entered by the side-entrance to the right of the spectators it was understood at once that he came from the city, probably from its Forum, within which the scene of the play was laid. If he entered by the side-entrance to the left of the spectators, it was understood that he was coming from foreign

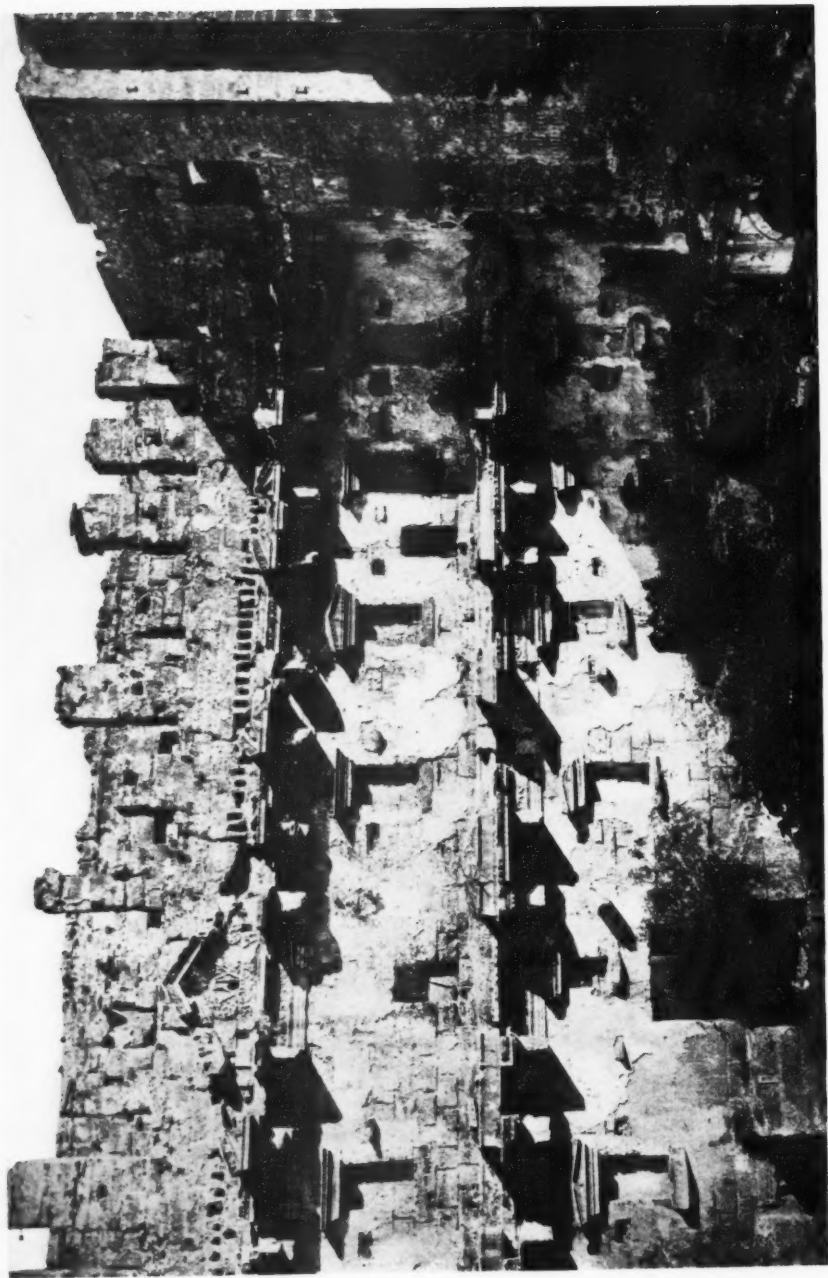
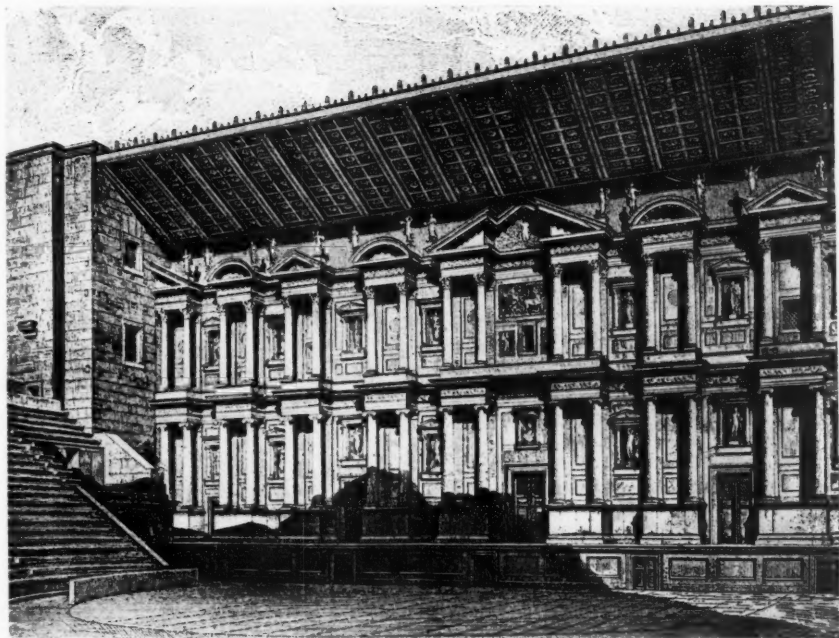


FIG. 12. FAÇADE OF THE STAGE OF THE ROMAN THEATER AT ASPENDUS, ASIA MINOR.



From Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, I, pl. XXVII.

FIG. 13. RESTORATION OF THE STAGE OF THE THEATER AT ASPENDUS.

parts, via the harbor of the town in which the play was laid (ancient Greek travel, and hence the travel mentioned so frequently in the Roman plays, based all on Greek originals, was by sea rather than by land).

The theater at Aspendus, in Pamphylia, Asia Minor, is the best preserved of Roman theaters (fig. 11). There are, in the main part of the auditorium, thirty-nine rows of seats, divided into two parts by a *praecinctio*. Upon this *praecinctio* several *vomitoria* give from a *crypta* running round beneath the seats of the *media caeca*. The *parodoi* and the *tribunalia* are plainly visible; the *tribunal* is reached, in each case, by a special *vomitorium* from a covered corridor. Above the thirty-

nine rows of seats is a covered gallery, divided into fifty-three box-like compartments. Vitruvius directs that the top of such a colonnade shall lie in the same plane as the top of the *scaena*, the wall behind the stage, for the reason that the voice will then rise with equal power till it reaches the highest rows of seats and the roof. If the roof is not so high, in proportion as it is lower it will check the voice at the point which the sound first reaches.

The *scaena*, or wall at the back of the stage, was divided into three stories (the Romans were prone to divide high wall surfaces thus into three stories). The *scaena* was here, as always, richly decorated with columns and statues. The

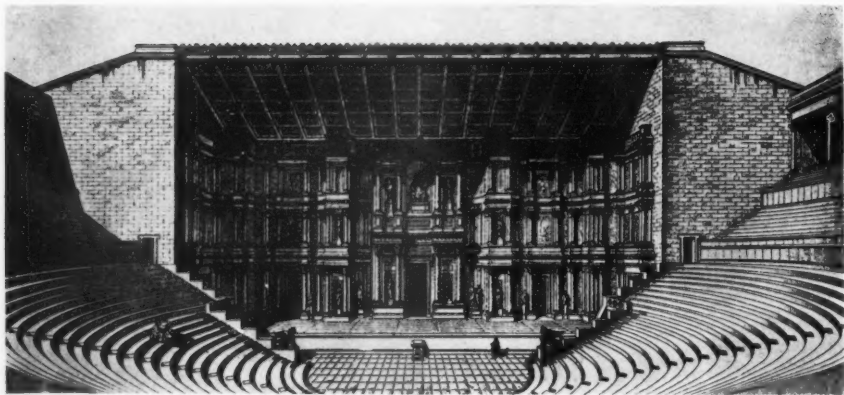


FIG. 14. RESTORATION OF THE STAGE OF THE THEATER AT ORANGE, SOUTHERN FRANCE.

theater, it must be remembered, served many purposes quite apart from the production of plays. In the theater large gatherings, for example, might be held for divers reasons. At such times the richly decorated *scaena* formed an attractive background.

In the theater at Aspendus we can still trace, high above the stage, the sloping line which marks where once the roof of the stage ran (fig. 11). Beginning at the top of the rectangular construction which forms the side of the stage (fig. 13) at the end nearer the auditorium, the roof sloped sharply downward to the *scaena*. Such a roof over the stage was prescribed for acoustic reasons. So too, for acoustic reasons, it was ordained that the floor of the stage should be of wood. This floor was called *pulpitum* or *pulpita*, a word whence 'pulpit' is derived, so that we have, etymologically at least, the connection between church and stage desiderated by so many worthy persons.

The great theater at Orange (Roman Arausio) in the southern part of France (fig. 14) was so well preserved that, twenty years or so ago, large portions of

the seats were reconstructed, the stage was remodeled, and performances by French actors, of ancient and modern plays both, have been given in this theater.<sup>6</sup> The wall behind the stage (*scaena*) is well preserved. Behind that are the greenrooms, and the like, still in excellent condition. The wall (fig. 15) behind the greenrooms is 335 feet long, and 120 feet high (three-quarters of the height of the exterior wall of the Coliseum). The ruins of this splendid Roman theater dominate the town today as completely as the Roman power once dominated the territory in which the theater stands. Also in northern Africa at Dougga and Timgad there are well-preserved Roman theaters (figs. 16, 17),

The student of the Graeco-Roman theater, however, need not journey abroad to find tangible illustrations of the ancient theater. At Berkeley, California, on the grounds of the University of California, stands a beautiful Graeco-Roman theater,

<sup>6</sup> For an account of such performances in 1894, see an article entitled "The Comedie Française at Orange," in *The Century Magazine* for June, 1895.

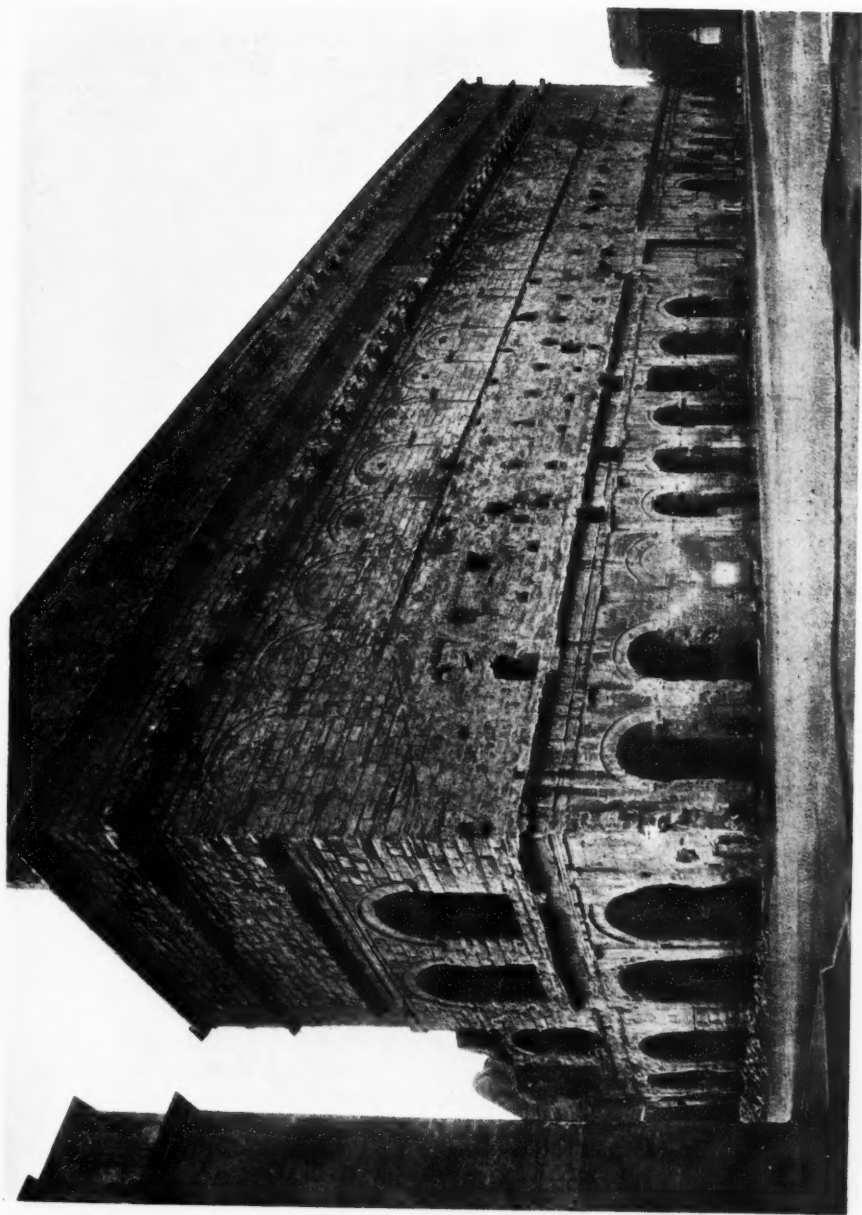


FIG. 13. THE ROMAN THEATER AT ORANGE, SOUTHERN FRANCE. EXTERIOR FAÇADE.



the gift of Mr. William R. Hearst (fig. 18). It is built against a hillside, in Greek fashion. The *parodoi* too are Greek; the orchestra is circular. The extreme diameter of the stone theater proper is 250 feet, but two tiers of wooden seats have been constructed beyond (above) the stone portion. There are two *praecinctiones*: of these the lower is 8 feet wide, the upper, between the top of the stone seats and the

portion of the seat and the remainder of the seat. The ordinary seating capacity is about 7,000; by crowding and calling the aisles into use this may be increased to 8,500. The stage (fig. 19) is 150 feet by 28. In the center its height is 7 feet; hence this stage, at this point, is too high for the Roman theater, too low for the Greek theater, as that is described by Vitruvius. The *parodoi* are not level, but

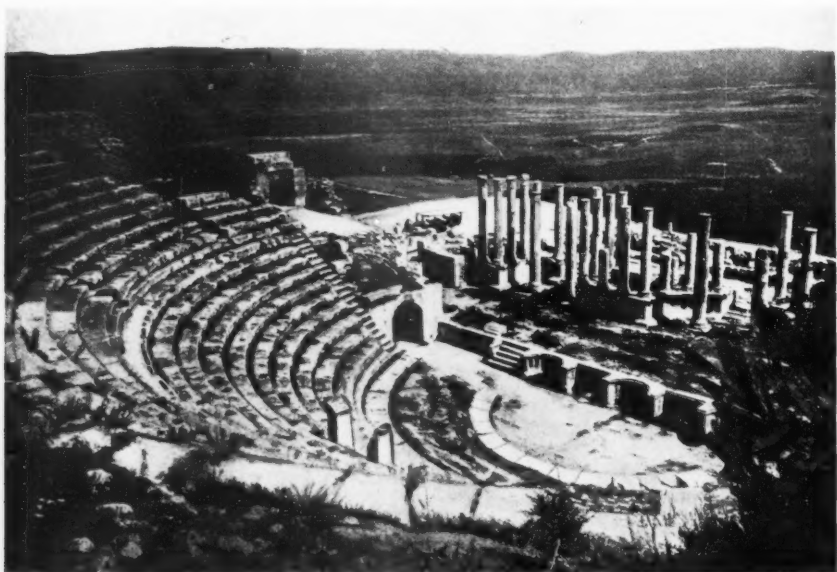


FIG. 16. ROMAN THEATER AT DOUGGA, NORTH AFRICA.

wooden addition,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet. There are 11 *gradus* between the orchestra and the lower *praecinctio*: these are very low, so that chairs must be set here for spectators. Above, between the two *praecinctiones*, are 19 *gradus*, cut by 11 aisles into 10 *cunei* or sections. The seats are prodigally constructed, that is, there is no undercutting of the front of the seat, and no difference in level between the footrest

in the form of inclined planes or ramps leading down into the orchestra. To sum up, this theater is for the most part Greek; in its seating arrangements (in the orchestra) it is in part Roman; in the stage, it is neither Greek nor Roman.

Thus far we have dealt with the Roman theater-structure mainly as a receptacle, so to say, for spectators. We turn now to consider it with reference to the

production of plays. Our study must include the stage, the scenery, costumes, music, the actors, and the audience.

The stage-buildings may be divided into three parts: (1) the stage proper, the 'boards,' called *pulpitum* or *pulpita*; (2) the *scaena* proper, or permanent wall at the back of the *pulpitum*; (3) the *post-scaenium*, or portion behind the *scaena*, containing the dressing-rooms of the

of the stage. Such colonnades were attached to the Theater of Pompey at Rome.

We may remind the reader of Vitruvius's two statements concerning the *pulpitum*: first, that it should be deeper than that of the Greek theater, because in the Roman theater all the performers play their parts on the stage; secondly, that it should not exceed five feet in height, else the senators and other distinguished personages who



FIG. 17. ROMAN THEATER AT TIMGAD, NORTH AFRICA.

actors, space for marshalling the processions for which the Romans had such fondness (compare the citation from Horace, pages 145-147, above), and the like. Vitruvius recommends that colonnades be constructed behind the theater, so that, when sudden showers interrupt plays, the people may have somewhere to retire from the theater, and that there may be room for the preparation of all the outfit

had seats in the orchestra would be unable to see what was being presented on the stage. The stage of the Large Theater at Pompeii is a little more than three feet in height, that of the Odeum of Herodes Atticus at Athens about four and a half feet. When the Dionysiac Theater at Athens was reconstructed by Phaedrus in the third century A.D., the stage was made four feet, seven inches high. The

stage was usually of great size. That of the Large Theater at Pompeii measured 105 feet by 20, that of the Odeum of Herodes Atticus 120 by 24, that of the Theater at Orange 203 by 50. It is interesting to note that the French, for the performances in the Theater at Orange, found it advisable to construct a stage much smaller than that of the ancient theater. Some scholars have seen in the great breadth of the Roman stage an explanation, at least in part, of the running scenes, so common in Plautus, that is, scenes in which slaves are described as running in hot haste across the stage, and yet consuming a long time to cover that space.

Of the height of the *scaena* and its decoration something has been said above (page 189), in the account of the Theater at Aspendus. The Theater at Orange and the Small Theater at Pompeii carry out the spirit of this injunction. At first the *scaena* was made of rough, unpainted boards. However, the custom of adorning the *scaena* became fixed at an early date, for in a temporary wooden theater erected by Aemilius Scaurus in 58 B.C. the *scaena* was divided into three stories, the lowest of which was adorned with slabs of marble; the middle story was lined with mosaics in glass, and the topmost story was built of gilded wood. 360 marble columns and 3,000 bronze statues graced this *scaena*. Lanciani (*Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, 242) says the columns were of Lucullan marble. He continues:

No wonder that the contractor for the maintenance of public drains should have required from M. Scaurus a security against any possible danger of the sinking of the streets in the transportation of his columns and blocks of marble, so heavy were they.

Pliny the Elder expresses his astonishment that such splendor, especially the blocks of marble, should have been tolerated in a city which took it amiss that one of its richest citizens, the orator Crassus, adorned the atrium of his house with six columns of Hymettan marble, only 12 feet high.

Vitruvius divides scenery into three classes: tragic, comic, and satyric. According to his description, the prominent features in a tragic setting were columns, pediments, statues, and other signs of regal magnificence—in a word a palace and its accessories (or a temple). In comedy the setting represented one or more private houses with projecting balconies and windows overlooking the street. The setting of a satyric drama, or play in which satyrs and the like appeared, comprised trees, grottoes, mountains, and "other rustic objects delineated in landscape style," says Vitruvius.

In 17 of the 25 extant tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides the scene is laid in front of a palace or a temple. In these tragedies the general character of the scenery required would be such as Vitruvius describes. How easily such scenery was supplied may be seen from the fact that the *scaena* of the Theater at Berkeley has in itself served admirably as proper setting for performances of the *Birds* of Aristophanes (fig. 18), the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus, and the *Antigone* of Sophocles (fig. 19). So the simple background erected in the Harvard Stadium in 1906 for the performance of the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus (fig. 20) met all the requirements of the play. This background consisted in the main of a straight wall, adorned with simple pilasters. In front of the single door was a porch-like structure formed by four columns set a few



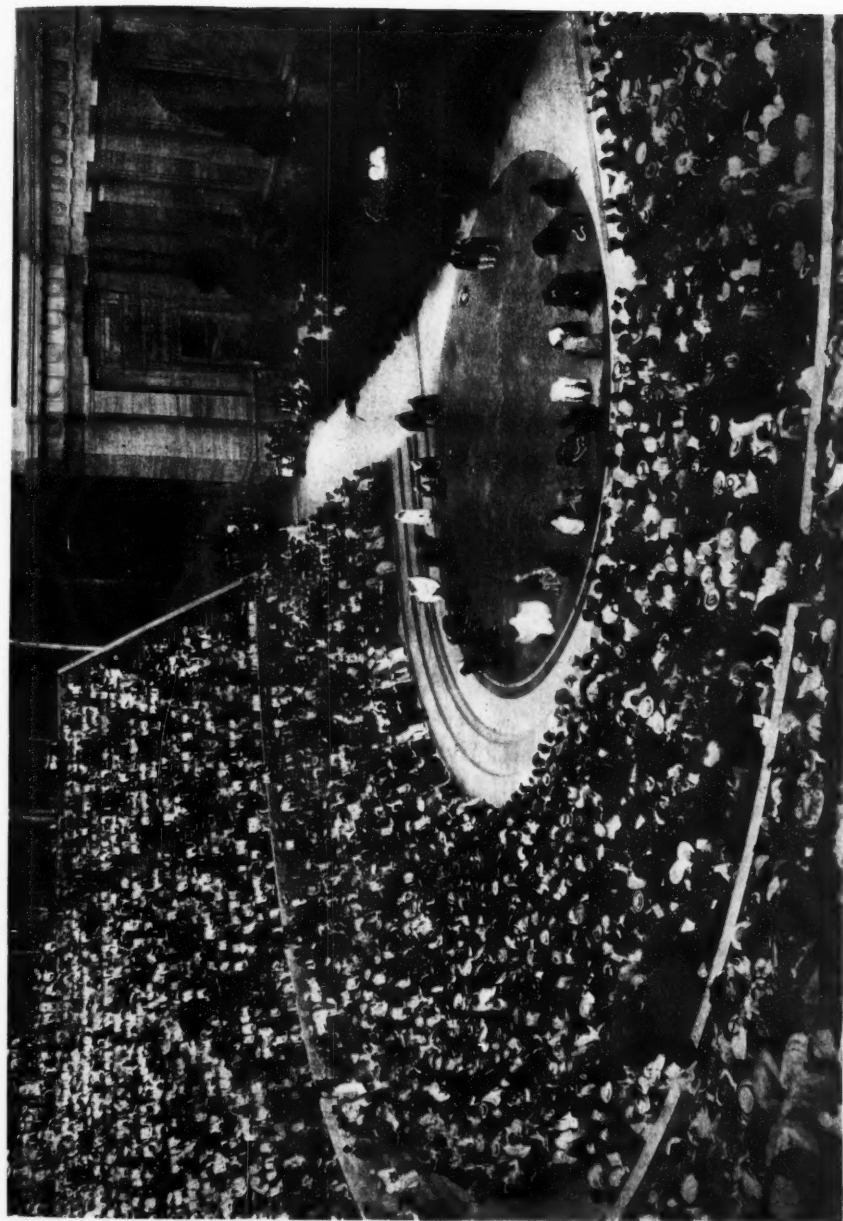


FIG. 18. SCENE FROM THE BIRDS OF ARISTOPHANES PERFORMED BY STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT THE DEDICATION OF THE GREEK THEATER, SEPT. 17, 1908.

feet from the door and carrying a pedimental or gable-like structure. So also the theater at Bradfield College in England (figs. 21, 22) was well adapted to a recent performance of the *Alcestis*. At Rome, it must be remembered, the details of scenery, costume, and the like were wholly Greek. It will be convenient to note here that in the one satyric drama which has come down to us the scene consists of a country region, with the cave of Polyphemos in the center.

In Graeco-Roman comedy the action, in the great majority of the plays, took place on the public street, before one or more private houses.<sup>7</sup> The *Captivi* of Plautus requires but one house; the *Phormio* of Terence calls for three. In the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, which was acted some years ago, in the original, by the students of Barnard College, two houses are needed. In the Graeco-Roman theater all the events of the play went on in the open; interior scenes were never represented. In the *Antigone* of Sophocles, Antigone calls her sister Ismene out of the palace, that alone Ismene may hear the decree of Creon with respect to the burial of their brothers. The real reason for Antigone's act is that the poet cannot picture the sisters as talking within the palace. In the *Mostellaria* of Plautus Philematium completes her toilet on the street; later in the same play there is a drinking-bout on the street. In the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus (597, 609-610) Palaestrius, Pleusicles, and Periplecomenus hold an important secret conference on the street. At right angles to the main street a lane, known as an *angiportum*,

sometimes, if not always, ran back between the houses. By this *angiportum* access was had to the back or garden part of the houses, or to the country (the *rus* that figures so largely in the Roman comedies); by the *angiportum*, again, an actor might leave the stage and return to it by a roundabout route, as Davus does so cleverly in Terence, *Andria*, 732-746. The *angiportum*, finally, was a favorite place for eavesdroppers. One and the same scene served for all towns alike. In the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, 72-73, the prologist says, "This city is for the present Epidamnus, while this play is on: when another play shall be acted, it will become another town." In the prologue of the *Truculentus* of Plautus the text is sadly corrupt: yet it is clear that the speaker of the prologue is saying that the stage represents Athens "so long as we are acting this play." This implies, it would seem, that the scenic resources of the Roman theater were after all not very elaborate or at least that the scenic artists were not very precise in delineation of landscapes. Compare, too, what is said in the next paragraph about change of scenery.

The scenery consisted of painted boards. If there were three houses in the scene, the house-door was set in each case opposite the door in the *scaena* (see above, page 187). If only one or two houses were required, we may suppose that one or two doors in the *scaena* were kept closed. Changes of scenery were infrequent. No extant Roman play requires such change. In only one extant Greek tragedy, the *Ajax* of Sophocles, is a change of scenery necessary, from a modern point of view. Part of the action is laid before the tent of Ajax in the midst of the Greek host before Troy, part (the suicide of Ajax) on a lonely stretch of shore.

<sup>7</sup> Throughout the remaining pages of this paper the illustrations will be taken mainly from Roman comedy, partly because of limitations of space, partly because the Romans so strongly preferred comedy to tragedy.

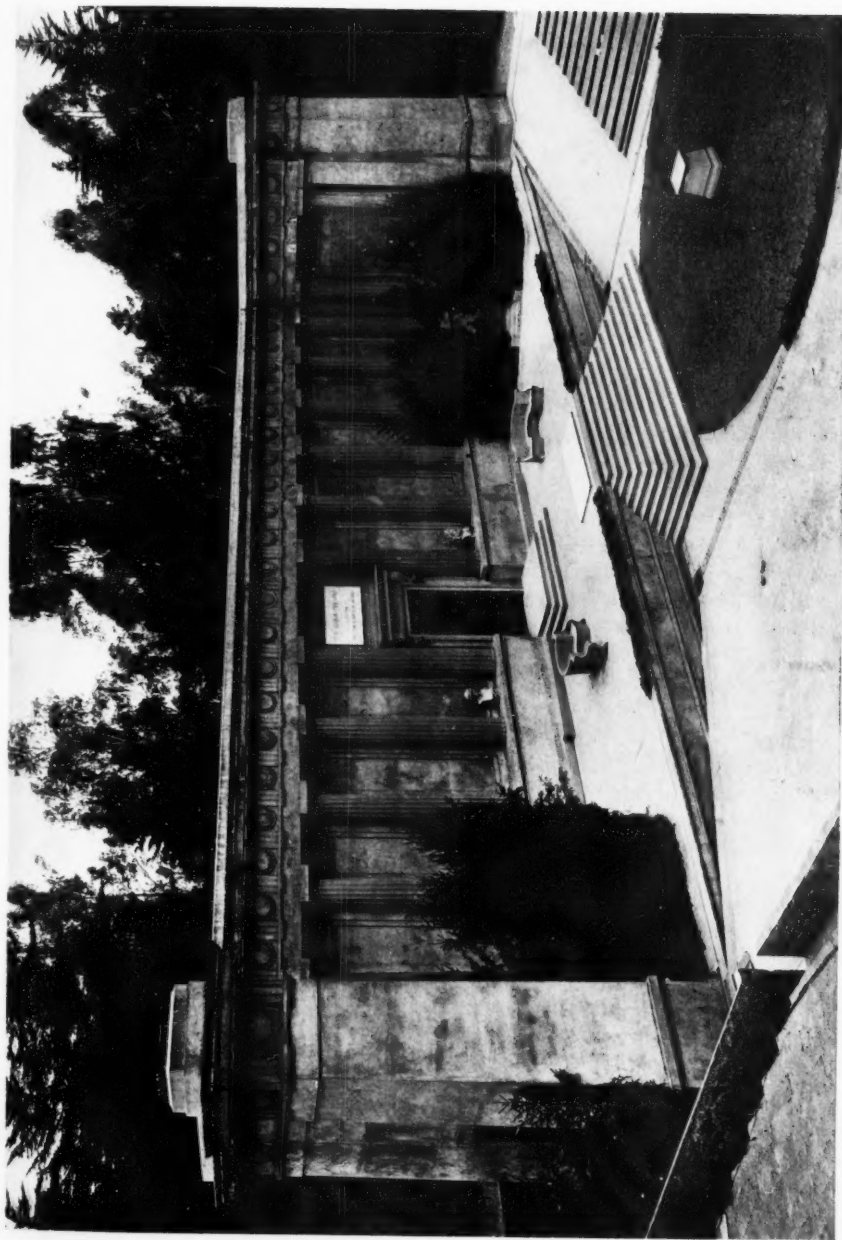


FIG. 19. STAGE OF GREEK THEATER AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA. STAGE SETTING FOR RECENT PERFORMANCE OF SOPHOCLES' ANTIGONE BY MARGARET ANGLIN.

Yet, when this play was produced in New York City some years ago by resident Greeks, no attempt was made to change the scene. Ajax slew himself in one corner of the extremely small stage, a short distance only from the place where all the preceding action of the play had gone on. The audience, however, felt no difficulty. The unfamiliarity of a modern audience with Greek and Latin of course forces the audience to strain its attention on what is actually happening on the stage, and leaves it little or no time for criticism of such matters as the failure to change the setting in the Ajax. So far as I know, there were no complaints when, at the performance of the Phormio at Harvard in 1894 there was no real *angiportum*, though one is demanded by the play; the painter, by a skilful use of perspective, had created the illusion of such an *angiportum*, a copy of the Street of the Hanging Balcony at Pompeii. The eavesdropper merely stood before this painted street: yet no one, so far as I know, complained. The ancient audience, on the other hand, demanded far less in the way of illusion than we moderns have learned to expect; a true comparison, in this regard, lies between such an audience and the audience of Shakespeare's time, not between us and the ancient Greek or Roman audience.

That changes of scenery did occur, however, is shown by the fact that Vitruvius describes the devices used to effect such change. The painted boards in front of the *scaena* were so arranged that they might be drawn asunder and shoved out of the way. Such scenery was called *scaena ductilis*, "a drawable scene," "movable scenery." When several plays, laid in different places, were to be given in succession on one day, it would be a simple matter to set them all before the

performances of the day began, and then, at the proper moment, to withdraw the front scene and display the scene behind, previously all set up. On the sides of the stage, connected in some way with the scenery at the back, were arrangements called by the Greeks *περιακτοι*, by the Romans *scaenae versiles*, "revolvers." These were large triangular prisms revolving on a socket or base, after the fashion of a modern revolving bookcase. Upon the three faces of the prism were painted different pictures, arranged, however, so that the particular face which for the moment was turned toward the spectators matched the back scene. To both kinds of *scaenae* or scenery Vergil alludes, in *Georgics* 3.24, the passage referred to above (page 145). If a partial change of scene was desired, it might be effected by turning the prisms; a complete change could be made by simultaneously turning the prisms and removing the back scene. Before the play began the scenery was hidden by a curtain; as set forth above (page 145), this was lowered when the play began, raised when the play was over.

There were arrangements also by which personages—e.g., gods—might appear in mid-air, or might come up from the nether world. The arrival of gods was accompanied by stage-thunder; a striking instance is to be found in the *Amphitruo* of Plautus, 1053 ff.

From various passages in the plays of Plautus and Terence and from ancient vases we get hints of the costume and make-up of actors. Professional costumed, known as *choregi* or *choragi*, supplied everything needed for the equipment of actors. The *senex* or old man is regularly white-haired; one is described as knock-kneed, large-paunched, fat-cheeked, short, with black eyes, and

long jaws, and rather flat-footed; another is white-haired and white-bearded; most, if not all, old men in the plays carried a staff or cane, with a crook handle. Philocrates, a young man in the *Captivi* of Plautus, is thin-faced, sharp-nosed, pale, black-eyed, with hair in curls and ringlets. The young men regularly had dark hair,

setting forth from home to meet a slave from another household, and fearing that this other may pass him on the way, calls to those within his house, "If any red-head comes looking for me . . ." The other, who has just arrived, overhears him and cries, "There, there, that will do: he's here!" Red hair,

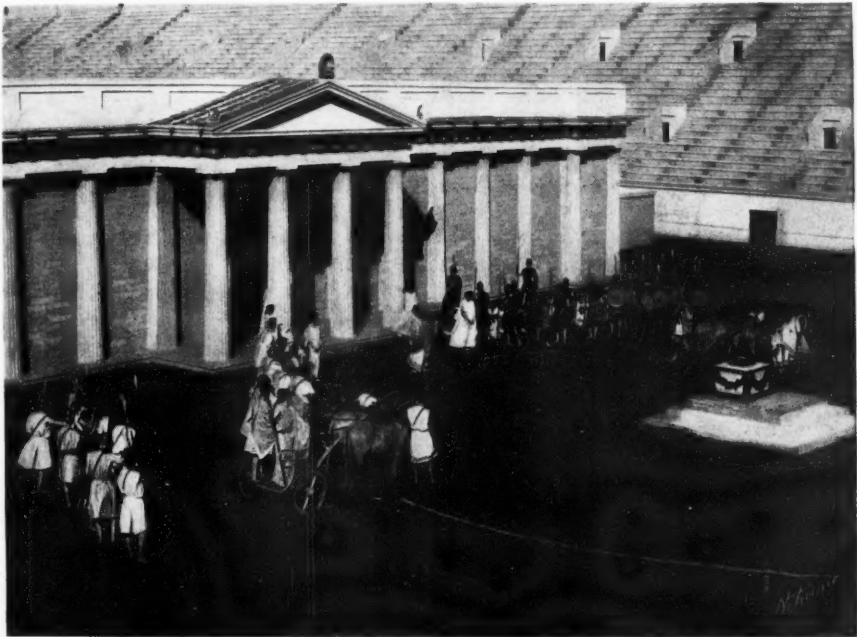


FIG. 20. PERFORMANCE OF AESCHYLUS' AGAMEMNON IN THE HARVARD STADIUM AT CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

and plenty of it. In the *Pseudolus* of Plautus the slave Pseudolus is red-headed, with a paunch, thick-ankled, swarthy, large-headed, sharp-eyed, red-faced, and with huge feet. The huge feet are, however, an abnormal feature, for by them, rather than by the rest of the description, Pseudolus is instantly identified. In the *Phormio* of Terence the slave Geta,

then, belonged regularly to the slave. In the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus arrangements are making whereby someone is presently to masquerade as a sailor or skipper. Here are the orders covering the plan:

Come to us garbed as a skipper. Wear a sea-hued broadbrim, and a sea-hued cloak. Have this cloak fastened on your



shoulder, so as to leave the arm bare. Pretend to be a sailor. You can get your make-up at the house of our old friend here: he has fishermen slaves.

The traveller coming from foreign parts wore a *petasus*, or broadbrimmed hat; sometimes this hung down his back. In the *Trinummus* of Plautus the trickster wears an extraordinarily wide *petasus*. Charmides, who is watching him, cries, "By Jove, yon fellow is of the mushroom brood: he hides every inch of him with his head." A character common in the plays is the *miles* or *miles gloriosus*, the braggart captain who boasts forever of his (imaginary) exploits as soldier. He wears a *chlamys* (a kind of Greek cloak), a *petasus*, and a sword.

Most of the plays are laid in Athens. A non-Athenian costume is recognizable at sight. In the *Poenulus* of Plautus, Hanno, a Carthaginian, appears (this play is not laid at Athens, but at Calydon in Aetolia). His costume is recognized at once as Punic by Milphio, the slave, and his master Agorastocles. Hanno evidently wears no *pallium*, or cloak; his long tunic has long hanging sleeves. One of the characters says Hanno is garbed as a woman. In a word, the comments on Hanno's costume are such as, in a certain type of modern comedy or farce, we should hear on the costume of a Chinaman.

In the later days of the Roman theater the most characteristic feature of the actor's make-up was the *persona*, or mask, fashioned of terra-cotta. In the best days of the Roman drama, however, the days of Plautus and Terence, masks were not used. Grease paints, wigs, etc., then sufficed. The masks, when adopted, about 115 B.C., were the conventional masks of the Greek stage. For each important personage in tragedy a mask was evolved; it is said that actors studied

the lines of the traditional mask as closely as they did the lines of the play itself. For comedy, 44 types of mask were developed, 9 for old men, 11 for young men, 7 for slaves, 3 for old women, and 14 for young women. As an actor came on the stage the audience could tell at once, by costume and mask, especially the latter, what rôle he was to play. All this, grotesque as it may seem at first to us, was, in the absence of programmes, helpful to the ancient spectator.

Some details concerning masks may be given. Miserly old men had close-clipped hair; soldiers wore huge manes. A dark, sunburned complexion was sign of rugged health, and so was given to soldiers and country youth. A white complexion showed effeminacy; a pallid (i.e. sallow or yellow) complexion gave evidence of ill health or showed that the wearer was suffering from the ravages of love. The eyebrows were strongly marked and characteristic. When drawn up they denoted pride, impudence, or wrath. The old father, at one time ablaze with wrath, at another brimful of affection, had one eyebrow drawn up, to denote wrath, the other in its natural position; and he kept that side of his face to the spectators which had the eyebrow in keeping with his temper of the moment. Old men and parasites had hook noses; country youths had snub noses.

In the days of Plautus and Terence plays were not divided into acts; they were acted through without pause. Once only in our extant plays is there reference to a break in the acting made by music. In *Pseudolus* 573-573 A, at the close of what we shall call an act, *Pseudolus* says: "I will go forth; meanwhile the flute-player will be here and will minister to your pleasure." *Pseudolus* appears presently at 574, to open the very next scene.

For music in Roman plays we have, however, quite apart from this single reference in the extant plays, plenty of evidence. The evidence finds its most interesting form in the representations which have come down to us, from Roman days, of actual scenes in comedies. These show the musician (regularly there is but one musician, a woman) playing the double *tibiae*, an instrument resembling the flute. The flute-player appeared on the stage with the actors. When the *Phormio* of Terence was produced at Harvard in 1894, sometimes one, sometimes two flute-players appeared on the stage with the actors. At the performance of the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus at Harvard in 1906 (fig. 20) one flute-player appeared with the chorus, in the orchestra. In neither case, however, did the visible musicians play a note: the music was supplied by hidden performers. The musical accompaniment for Roman plays was the work of slaves; the making of music, as author or player, was beneath the dignity of a true Roman.

A few words must be said about the actors. Among the Romans the actor or participant in any spectacle on the stage, especially if he appeared for money, lost all civil rights. Actors, then, were ineligible to hold office. We may recall the instructive story told of Decimus Laberius, the writer of mimes, compelled by Julius Caesar to act in one of his own productions. When Laberius came down from the stage, Caesar gave to him a gold ring and 400,000 sesterces. The 400,000 sesterces were the property qualification necessary to the status of *eques*; the gold ring was worn by the *eques* as outward evidence of his status. By these gifts, then, Caesar was restoring to Laberius the equestrian status he had lost by appearing as actor. With the son of an actor or actress not

even the great-granddaughter of a senator, in the male line, could contract a lawful marriage. Originally magistrates had the right to scourge actors whenever and wherever they saw fit, but Augustus limited this right to the time of the *ludi* and to the theater itself. Yet Augustus exercised a strict supervision over actors; he caused one actor to be beaten with rods through the three theaters, and another, on complaint of a praetor, to be scourged in the atrium of his own house, the general public being admitted to the spectacle. Naturally, in view of what has been said, actors were in general men of inferior station, slaves, or freedmen. Such free-born persons as appeared on the stage were not Romans, but foreigners—Greeks, Asiatics, or Egyptians. Still, distinguished actors sometimes attained a high place in public esteem, even though their political disabilities were not removed. In comedy Q. Roscius Gallus, and in tragedy Claudius Aesopus, contemporaries of Cicero, achieved enviable reputations and amassed great fortunes. In his speech *Pro Archia* Cicero says:

Who was not deeply moved lately when he heard of the death of Roscius? So perfect was his art, so charming his grace, that one felt he should never have died. By the mere movements of his body he had won from us strong affection.

In Terence's time L. Ambivius Turpio had been famous.

The famous "rule of three actors," which scholars long insisted had governed the distribution of rôles in Greek plays, so that all the rôles of a Greek play, however numerous, were divided, they held, among three actors and only three, had no meaning for the Roman theater.<sup>8</sup> It has

<sup>8</sup> Its applicability to the Greek theater, at least that of the best days, has recently been vigorously challenged by an American scholar.

been held that four plays of Plautus require at least four actors; ten plays require five actors; two require six actors. So three plays of Terence require six actors.

One last point may be noted here. In all kinds of Roman dramatic performances, except the mime and the pantomime, all the rôles were taken by men. The Romans themselves vigorously assail

temporary evidence in the second prologue to Terence's *Heccyra*:

And now for my sake give ear to what I am about to ask. I am bringing before you again the *Heccyra*, which I have never been suffered to act in peace and quiet. When first I tried to act this play, I had no chance, for the excitement about some prize-fighters, the noise of parties forming for that show, the confusion and the shrieks



FIG. 21. THE GREEK THEATER OF BRADFIELD COLLEGE, BERKSHIRE, ENGLAND.

the immorality of the mime and the pantomime.

It remains to consider the audience. Admission to theatrical performances was free to all classes of the community, except at first to slaves and foreigners. Later, slaves, too were admitted, and of course foreigners; slaves in attendance on their masters cannot long have been excluded. For the presence of women in the theater as early as the time of Terence (that is, before 160 B.C.), we have con-

of the women drove me off before I had half finished. I tried it again. You liked the first part, when suddenly a report ran through the theater that a gladiatorial exhibition was to be given that day. Off flew the spectators, shouting, hustling, fighting to get places at the gladiatorial combat. I had a second time to give way. Now there is no crowd; now there is silence and quiet, no counter-attraction; a chance has been given to me at last to act my part, and to you to honor the author whose play I am seeking to produce. For my sake be silent and



listen, that he may have the heart to write other plays, and that it may pay me to learn new plays and produce them, at my expense, for your amusement.

The speaker was the famous actor and stage-manager, L. Ambivius Turpio.

The prologue to the *Poenulus* of Plautus is exceptionally good:

Be silent and hearken unto me, and sit ye quietly on the benches—such are the orders of General, General—General what you do think? General Stagemonager—orders meant both for those who came hungry and for those who breakfasted before they came. Those who ate first were by far the wiser; those who came hungry must fill themselves with the plays.<sup>9</sup> If a man has anything to eat, it's the height of folly to come here on an empty stomach, to listen to us. Arise, Sir Herald, and proclaim silence. I've been waiting to see if you knew your duty. Lift up your voice, exert it well: it is your voice whereby you get your living. If you don't shout out now you'll have a chance to die by and by of silent starvation. Let not the ushers move about before my face or conduct anyone to a seat while an actor is on the stage. Those who slept too long, and so came late, ought either to stand up or to shorten their sleep. Let not slaves block up the way and so cheat freemen out of their places. Women that have nursing babies should look after them at home, and not bring them to the play, lest the nurses themselves get thirsty and the babies die of hunger, or else, through hunger, bleat like kids. Let the women look on in silence, let them laugh quietly, let them keep from droning away in their sing-song voices, let them put off their conversation till they get home, lest they be a plague to men here as well as in their own homes.

Since the whole population was at liberty to come, free of charge, the theaters were constructed to accommodate large throngs. Yet the statements made in ancient writers (and frequently repeated

in modern books) of the vast numbers of seats in ancient structures, theatrical, amphitheatrical, circensian, are much exaggerated. Pliny the Elder declares that the *Theatrum Pompeii* seated 40,000 persons. This Ch. Huelsen, the distinguished German archaeologist, refuses to believe. He calculates that this theater could seat at most 17,500, the *Theatrum Marcelli* 9,000 to 10,000<sup>10</sup>. The Large Theater at Pompeii could seat 5,000. Though these figures come far short of Pliny's, they nevertheless prove the enormous size of the ancient Roman theaters.

That the audience was anything but quiet and orderly appears from the prologues to the *Hecyra* and the *Poenulus*, already translated in part (pages 202–203). We find similar appeals in the prologues to many other plays. For a much later date we have Horace's testimony (page 145). The audience was not slow to express its approval or disapproval. Actors and actresses were at times hissed off the stage. Much noise was due, no doubt, to the hired claque; the prologue to the *Amphitruo* of Plautus gives ample evidence of the existence of such a claque.

One source of disorder remains to be noted, the interchange of remarks between actors and spectators. Of this there is space to mention but two examples. In the prologue to the *Captivi* of Plautus, the prologist, after outlining

<sup>10</sup> The basis of his calculations of the seating capacity of the theaters, and of the Coliseum is the number of linear feet of seating-space available. If this number could be calculated exactly (the condition of the ruins unfortunately makes this impossible), it would be easy to get the total of seats by allotting 16 inches to each spectator (see above, page 147). Anyone who has ever been at pains to check up popular or newspaper conceptions of the seating-capacity of modern buildings, ball-grounds, etc., will put no faith in ancient estimates of seating capacity.

<sup>9</sup> Note the plural here.

the somewhat intricate plot of the play, says to the spectators, "Have I said enough? Do you understand the plot?" They answer in the affirmative, all save one, for the prologist exclaims, "By Jove, there's a man in the back who says *No*. My good sir, come nearer. If you can't find room to sit down, you can

What? I know nothing, I see nothing, I go blindly, I cannot tell whither to go or where I am or who I am. I pray you, spectators kind, help me, help me, and show me the man who stole it. (Follows a voice from the audience:) What's that you say, sir? I'm resolved to trust *you*; I know by *your* face that *you* are an honest man. What's that you say? (Then to the other spectators.) What's the matter?



FIG. 22. SCENE FROM THE ALCESTIS OF EURIPIDES, AS GIVEN IN THE GREEK THEATER OF BRADFELD COLLEGE, BERKSHIRE.

find room to *walk*" (there is a play on words here: *walk* is meant to suggest "walk out of the theater"). In the *Aulularia* of Plautus the miser, who has just lost the pot of gold he had been jealously guarding, rushing on the stage in wild excitement, cries:

I'm dead, I'm killed, I'm slain! Whither shall I run? Hold! Hold! Whom?

What are *you* laughing at? I know *you*: I know there's many a thief here, many a wolf in sheep's clothing. (Then to the one honest man:) What, what? None of these spectators has it? You've killed me. Tell me, who has it, who has it? You don't know? Ah me, poor luckless wight, I'm slain, I'm killed, I'm dead!

Columbia University.

## AN INFERNAL POSTAL SERVICE

WILLIAM SHERWOOD FOX

THERE was a time, psychologists tell us, when man could not say, "I am I, and my neighbor is himself."

Through this lack of a sense of personality his conduct under the treatment meted out to him by his neighbors was scarcely more than a mechanical reaction. But the time did come at last when he realized that he was a personal being apart from others of his kind. Consequently a radical change took place in the nature of his reactions; they were now consciously directed towards the personal source of the treatment and took the form of a show of thanks or of resentment. Out of the former—the wish to return good for good—developed the blessing, while out of the latter developed the curse, two institutions of world-wide range but particularly characteristic of the Orient. With the curse only are we concerned here.

Often one's enemy was hedged from direct injury by distance, walls, or bodyguards. All the aggrieved could do was to wish and wish *and wish* for harm to befall him. Perhaps in the frenzy of frustrated desire he would rehearse on a clay or waxen image the violence he would like to visit on the living foe. By a strange coincidence the foe fell ill and died. With a great *tour de force* of reason he concluded that this was the result of his dramatic wish. The many advantages of this method of secret murder appealed to him and he accepted it as an article of life. The curse was now an institution.

But man is a creature of short-cuts. Soon he asked himself, "Why should a solid image be essential." His answer

was the use of outline sketches on the flat. Later he asked, "Why need even a sketch, if the name of a man is the man himself?" In reply he wrote the name of his foe on a potsherd, or a fragment of metal, or a shred of papyrus, and visited his wish upon it, for it was now indeed the foe's very person.

At this point in the development of the curse we first observe it among the Greeks. Whence they derived it we may never know, yet probability points to the Semitic Orient and Egypt as the sources of the leading influences. These coming into contact with the native magical practices of the early Hellenes, produced the remarkable hybrid, the Greek curse-tablet—*κατάδεσμος* or "binding down." Emigrating Greeks brought the practice with them to the shores of Italy, where it in its turn was crossed with native Italic magic to produce the form of curse-tablet peculiar to Italy—*defixio* or "pegging down." Now it can be seen at a glance that these two national types of curse-tablet are only varieties of one and the same species. To the species alone we purpose to confine our attention, but in order fully to understand it we must constantly bear in mind that it is one of the great family of magical practices and can be explained only in the light of its family history.

The simplest form of the curse-tablet is a roughly rectangular sheet of lead of about the area of half a dozen postage stamps. This had inscribed, or more correctly, incised upon it the name of an enemy, and was originally thrown into some body of water or into a grave. In Greek lands several large deposits of these

have been found in dried-up wells or opened graves. In this easy and clandestine fashion the resorter to magic drowned or buried his enemy, as the case may be, not in symbol but in fact. Moreover, the death-stroke of the curse was supposed to reach past the mortal body to the very soul and to dispatch it, too, to the end of time. In the later period of the practice the spirits of those drowned at sea, or of the dead within the tombs in which the leaden tablets were cast, were brought in some mysterious way to communicate the wish of the curser to the gods of the lower regions, who were bound by the very nature of magic to put the curses into effect. In other words, the layer of lead was a letter, as it is actually called in one tablet; the grave or well was the letter-box in the nether postal service; the spirits of the departed, especially of those who had died violent or premature deaths, were the postmen; and the infernal gods were the receiving correspondents. To continue the figure—not too modern either for an ancient custom—the proper incantation of a formula when the letter was consigned to the box was tantamount to a special stamp insuring prompt delivery and an equally prompt reply. That this means of wreaking vengeance on a foe was not an idle routine but was believed to be thoroughly efficient is made clear by the fact that it was a crime before the law to resort to it.

The most highly developed form of the curse-tablet is exceedingly complicated and has the marks of studied organization. The simple form we have just surveyed was such that even a fool or wayfaring man could use it effectually without training. The use of the elaborated form, on the contrary, was confined to those who had been tutored by experts in the magical liturgies. Further-

more, this professional class, fearful of a shrinking of their revenues, after the manner of the master soothsayers at Philippi, took great care that the layman should know as little as possible of their craft. In brief, they managed to secure a monopoly in magical operations, constituting themselves a sort of Magic Trust Company which had as the main clause of its charter, so to speak, the artificial intricacy of its formulae. The extent of the possibilities of their business may be readily grasped if we accept at its face value the word of an authority on ancient eastern life:

The belief in magic penetrated the whole substance of life constantly appearing in the simplest acts of the daily household routine, as much a matter of course as sleep or the preparation of food.

We shall now consider one of these complicated formulae, choosing as the most suitable for our purposes one of the five Roman tablets of the period of Julius Caesar that are now in the Archaeological Museum of the Johns Hopkins University. A condensed translation would run on this wise:

Good and beautiful Proserpina (or Salvia, shouldst thou prefer), mayest thou wrest away the health, body, complexion, strength, and faculties of Plotius and consign him to thy husband, Pluto. Grant that by his own devices he may not escape this penalty. Mayest thou consign him to the quartan, tertian, and daily fevers to war and wrestle with him until they snatch away his very soul. Wherefore, I hand over this victim to thee, Proserpina (or, shouldst thou prefer, Acherusia). Mayest thou summon for me the three-headed hound Cerberus to tear out the heart of Plotius, and mayest thou pledge thyself to give him three offerings—dates, figs, and a black swine—should he finish his task before

the month of March. These offerings, Proserpina, I shall entrust to thee as soon as thou hast made good my vow. Proserpina Salvia, I give thee the head of Plotius, the slave of Avonia, his brow and eyebrows, eyelids and pupils. I give thee his ears, nose, nostrils, tongue, lips, and teeth, so he may not speak his pain; his neck, shoulders, arms, and fingers, so he may not aid himself; his breast, liver, heart, and lungs, so he may not locate his pain; his bowels, belly, navel, and flanks, so he may not sleep the sleep of health; his thighs, knees, legs, shanks, feet, ankles, heels, toes, and toe-nails, so he may not stand of his own strength. As Plotius has prepared a curse against me, in like manner do I consign him to thee to visit a curse on him ere the end of February. May he most miserably perish and depart this life. Mayest thou so irrevocably damn him that his eyes may never see the light of another month.

A study of the plan of this curse throws much light on the methods of the ancient magician. First, the Queen of Hades is invoked, care being taken to use her real essential name, for this, as opposed to a nickname, inextricably bound the god, willy nilly, to the speaker's service. The nether queen is now coerced, though under the inoffensive guise of prayer, to cast a series of veritable Egyptian plagues on the hapless victim. In a most diabolically systematic manner these are told off one by one. Their full tale is calculated to imbue with pain every significant feature of the living man's anatomy from crown to toe. The next conspicuous item is the presence of precautionary clauses: not till the goddess "makes good" will the fee be paid, and the petitioner in naïve retaliatory spirit metes out his curse as the curse has been meted out to him. The formula concludes with an impressive recapitulation, the purpose of which is to leave no doubt that the victim is destroyed, body and soul, to all etern-

ity. As a sort of duplicate surety the document was folded, probably to enclose the victim's soul. An iron spike was then driven through the metal so as to pierce the contained soul. This was the process of defixion which has given the practice its name.

Between the simple and complicated types which we have investigated, lay a multitude of types of all degrees of organization. To get a clear vision of the scope of their usage, transport yourself for a moment into the remote past. Are you urging a suit at law? Resort to your magic tablet, cause your adversary's tongue to stumble, and steer the verdict to yourself. Is Aeschines hateful to you? Then defix him summarily and silence him forever. Does some fair Virginia spurn your suit? Only prepare your irresistible tablet and she must soon be yours. Have you staked your money on the blue in the races? Pay the sorcerer his fee and with a tablet he will weaken the knees of the horses of the red and green. In fine, have you lost your cloak and suspect a thief? Curse him roundly and your cloak will be returned. These instances are far from being imaginary pleasantries: they are faithful representations of several distinct types of extant curse-tablets.

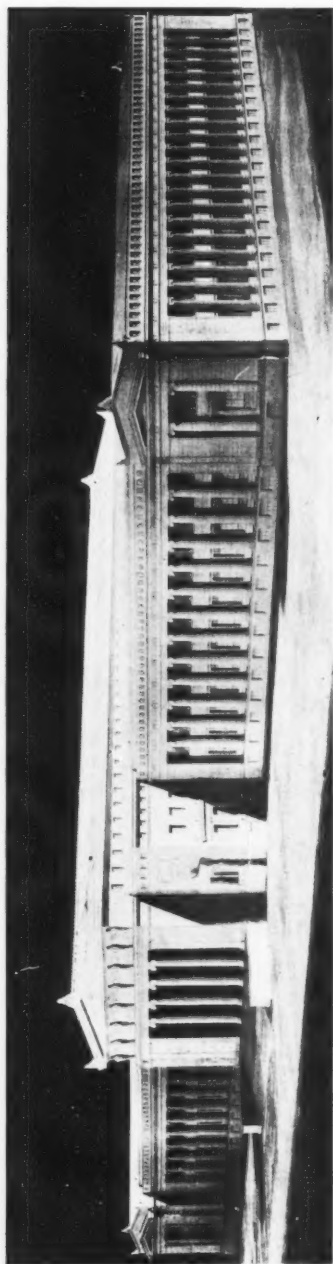
Our first impulse is to smile at this ancient credulity. Ancient? Why, only about a hundred years ago a lady of the English court sought to make away with the reigning sovereign by means of a waxen image stuck full of needles. Disraeli is said to have made a practice of writing the names of enemies on slips of paper which he would lock in a drawer. The enemies so treated, the story adds, had the strange habit of being snuffed out politically soon after.

*Princeton University.*



## MODERN MASTERPIECES OF CLASSICAL ARCHITECTURE

## IV. FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, CHICAGO



WE present as the fourth of our series the proposed new building of the Field Museum in Chicago. For the details that follow we are indebted to the architects, Graham, Burnham and Company of Chicago.

The Field Museum of Natural History will be a building about 350 feet wide by 700 feet long, consisting in its general arrangement of a great central hall, or nave, flanked by transverse exhibition halls on both sides, these exhibition halls being again united by transverse exhibition halls at each end. The building will contain three stories and basement, the entire structure being devoted to exhibition purposes, except the basement and third floor which will be used as working space for the scientific staff of the institution. The main central hall rises the entire height of the building, the rest of the structure being divided into stories.

The exterior, of Georgia white marble, about 80 feet high, is treated with a monumental order of Greek Ionic architecture, the principal fronts being divided into a large pedimented central pavilion and two long wings terminated by smaller pavilions at each end.

The main motives of the building are inspired directly by the Erechtheum on the Acropolis at Athens. This fine example of the Ionic order has been followed very closely in the Field Museum, every detail of which has been carefully studied in comparison with the corresponding work in the Erechtheum which was frankly accepted as the prototype to govern the design. One of the principal features of the building is the terrace, about 50 feet wide, extending all the way round the building and rising about 6 feet above the surrounding territory.

M. C.

used as working space for the sentinels of the institution. The main central hall rises the entire height of the building, the rest of the structure being divided into stories, round the building and rising about 6 feet above the surrounding territory.

M. C.

## THE MARBLE FAUN

(After Praxiteles. See Frontispiece)

EYELIDS half drooped in tender pensiveness,  
Half-parted lips whereon a smile doth play  
With half-blown thought—as each were fain to stay,  
Lithe limbs at rest, yet less from weariness  
Than from some sweet extreme of happiness.

From thy young mouth almost divine the flute  
Thy cunning hands contrived, is just withdrawn,  
Here where thou leanest, half brother to the faun,  
A moment pausing—from what swift pursuit?  
Ah! what was it that made thy music mute?

What forest secret didst thou just surprise  
In purple shadow or leaf-filtered light?  
What wondrous half-snared beauty or delight  
Is this thou broodest o'er with dreaming eyes—  
Thy recognition tempered with surmise?

Was it some woodland vagrant shy and dear,  
From out the fragrant thicket strayed  
To the beguilement that thy music made?  
Some young-eyed nymph between the trees dared peer,  
And thou forgot'st to pipe when she drew near?

Or dost but ponder, Sweet, some dream unseen,  
Born of a furtive strain of thine own melody,  
That holds thee now in smiling reverie?—  
Beauty bewild'ring, ineffable, serene,  
That never, e'en by thee, beheld hath been?

Ah ponder, Pensive Melodist, fore'er,  
Entranced in such grave sweet perplexity,  
Though never may'st thou solve the mystery,  
Nor lure the Beauty Fugitive from where  
It dwells so teasingly aloof and fair!

To bring it near thou need'st not pipe again,  
For to thy young limbs' curves has passed the grace,  
The deep enchantment of the old high race  
Of Loveliness and Dream that woke thy strain,  
And now for us immortally remain!

Melody and Vision, ours once more!  
And all the rapture thou wert wont to know  
Wand'ring in woodlands of the Long Ago—  
While thou dost o'er thy precious secret pore,  
Still shall they us enspell—as thee of yore!

*Anna Blanche McGill*

# PROBLEMS OF THE TWIN CUPS OF SAN JUAN TEOTIHUACAN, MEXICO

The ruined city of San Juan Teotihuacan lies at the base of the hills in the northern margin of the Valley of Mexico. After the lapse of four hundred years of European occupancy the vast pile remains a mystery as to people, culture, and period almost as deep as at the period of the Conquest. Even many of the minor relics of art scattered among the débris of the city and turned up by the plow in great numbers afford interesting problems for the archaeologist. The multitudes of little terra-cotta heads have been discussed by Mrs. Nuttall and their probable use suggested. Along with these are found many minute earthen receptacles—twin cups—as shown in figure 2, which, like the heads, must have had a ceremonial use.

Among the principal deities of Mexico were those of water, fertility, and harvest.

Figures of these, especially of the maize goddess (fig. 1), are found everywhere in the Valley, and often these images are represented as bearing in each hand two ears of corn. The upright position implies a receptacle into which the base of the ear or the partly degreined cob could be inserted. Support for this suggestion is found in the performance of certain rain ceremonies among the Pueblo



FIG. 1. THE GODDESS OF MAIZE. (1)



FIG. 3. MAIZE-EAR IN HOLDER. PUEBLO.

tribes of New Mexico and Arizona, whose altars are furnished with little cups in which ears of corn are set up (fig. 3). Some writers, however, suggest that the twin cups were incense-holders. W. H. H.



FIG. 2. EXAMPLES OF THE TERRA-COTTA CUPS. (5)



## CURRENT NOTES AND NEWS

### *Statuette from Crete (fig. 1)*

In the statuette here reproduced by permission of the Boston Museum we have one of the best examples of Minoan art yet discovered. The little figure was lately unearthed on the island of Crete, and is very similar to the famous Cretan faience statuettes. It is fairly well preserved, although the ivory is badly split and parts of the dress, the right arm, and the portion of the snake

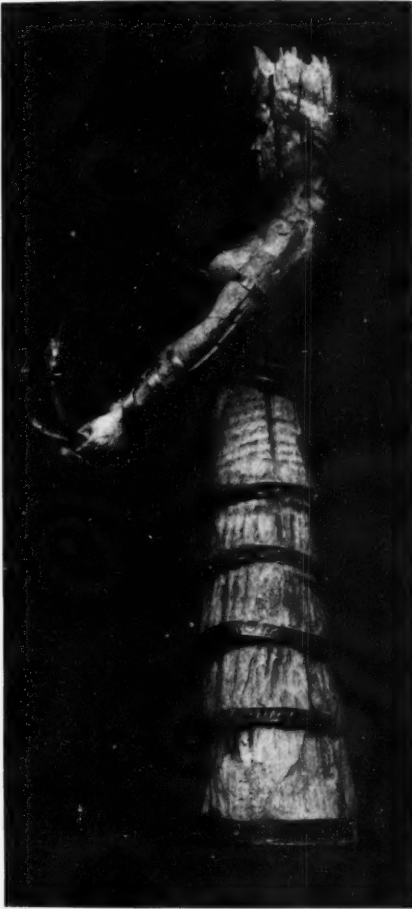


FIG. 1. IVORY AND GOLD STATUETTE OF SNAKE GODDESS FROM CRETE, SIXTEENTH CENTURY B.C. (HEIGHT  $6\frac{1}{2}$  INCHES). BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS.

art yet discovered. The little figure was lately unearthed on the island of Crete, and is very similar to the famous Cretan faience statuettes. It is fairly well preserved, although the ivory is badly split and parts of the dress, the right arm, and the portion of the snake

further disintegration. The goddess, though standing in the strictly frontal pose peculiar to early Greek sculpture, is not stiff and rigid, but, on the contrary, full of life and energy. She stands erect—shoulders thrown back, chin in—her curiously virile hands grasping gold snakes which coil about her forearms. She wears the characteristic Minoan dress—a jacket which clips her small waist and is cut so low in front as to entirely expose the breasts, a full

skirt with five plaited flounces, and an apron—and on her head is an elaborate crown, which was encircled by a gold band. Above her forehead is a row of seven deeply drilled holes, which, on the analogy of other ivory heads found in Crete, held the ends of gold curls. Dr. L. D. Caskey has published this statuette in the *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* for December, 1914.

D. M. R.

#### *Recent Discoveries at Cyrene*

The work of the American archaeological expedition to Cyrene was brought to a sudden end by the Italian military expedition to Tripoli, but not before many valuable finds in the way of inscriptions, terra-cottas, and sculptures had been unearthed, among which was a beautiful head of Athena, published in the book of Professor Norton (reviewed in this number of ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY). Since their victory over the Turks the Italians have continued the American excavations at Cyrene, and have explored the surrounding country. They have discovered at Cyrene many Greek and Roman statues, including a Discobolus, figures of the Three Graces, and an excellent Parian marble statue of Alexander the Great, which in the curious inventory of the newly established museum at Benghazi is valued at 400,000 Lire (\$80,000). Some twenty female figures have also been found, among which is the magnificent marble statue of Venus which, by permission of the Department of Antiquities and Fine Arts of Italy is reproduced in figure 2. This statue was discovered December 1, 1913 by Italian soldiers near the fountain of Apollo. It is of Greek mar-

ble, but is probably an excellent Roman copy of a 4th century Greek original, and shows the influence of the Cnidian Venus by Praxiteles. The statue is of such fine workmanship that some have considered it an original Greek work of the 4th or even 5th century B. C. According to a short notice in the *Nation* for December 31, 1914, it would appear that this statue is in the museum of Benghazi, and that it is valued in the inventory of that museum at 250,000 Lire (\$50,000). The statue is certainly worth many thousand dollars more, and has just been put on exhibition in the National Museum, or the Museo delle Terme, in Rome. The Arabs of the country near Cyrene have recently found several marble heads in the immediate vicinity of the spot where this statue was unearthed, and there is much likelihood that one of these heads may prove to belong to the Venus of Cyrene. If so, this will be one of our best preserved as well as one of the finest ancient statues of Venus; and will rank with the Cnidian Venus and the Venus of Melos, being a far superior work of art to the well known Medici Venus.



FIG. 2. STATUE OF VENUS RECENTLY DISCOVERED BY ITALIANS AT CYRENE IN NORTH AFRICA. NOW BEING EXHIBITED IN NATIONAL MUSEUM, ROME. PUBLISHED BY PERMISSION OF DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES AND FINE ARTS OF ITALY.

There is so much life in the Cyrene Venus and the marble is so much like real flesh that one can almost see the muscles under the epidermis. It is this miracle of form which makes it possible that this is an original Greek work, despite the large and rather ugly feet. By means of another statue, recently discovered in the Baths of Caracalla, with hands and head intact, it is possible

to restore the arms as raised and lifting with the hands the tufts of hair, so that the statue is another example of *Aphrodite Anadyomene*. With exquisite taste it has been placed on a movable base in a niche of the museum which receives the light from above and where the walls are colored green to enhance its singular beauty.

D. M. R.

*Bronze Statue of a Roman Boy (fig. 3)*

One of the most important acquisitions ever made by the Classical Department of the Metropolitan Museum in New York is the bronze statue of which Director Edward Robinson showed several slides at the meetings of the Archaeological Institute held at Haverford College, December 29-31, 1914, and which Miss Richter publishes in the January *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum*. The statue without the feet, which are missing, is 4 feet  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in height, and represents a boy about twelve years old, standing in a graceful, easy pose, with a boyish face of very unusual charm. The fingers of the extended left hand are gone, but the right—held half open—is intact; but it is

impossible to say what objects were held in the hands. The head has the characteristics of the Julio-Claudian family, and is called by Miss Richter an imperial prince of that family. If I remember rightly, Dr. Robinson suggested that it might be Drusus, but preferred to give no definite name to the statue. There is in the hair and forehead and ears even some resemblance to portraits of the young Augustus. The statue, though Roman, is of excellent execution and thoroughly Greek in feeling; and probably its artist was a Greek. It ranks very high among the ancient classical bronze statues, of which there are less than fifty preserved.

D. M. R.

*Excavations at Corinth by the American School at Athens*

(From the *Nation*, Feb. 18, 1915)

The excavations at Corinth in March-June and October-December of last year were among the most successful that the American School has conducted on this difficult site. Attention was devoted especially to a long wall, which runs north and south some distance to the southeast of the Fountain of Pirene, and which was, apparently, the eastern boundary wall of the Greek market place. East of this, at a distance of

5.88 metres, another wall was built in Roman times, a long chamber thus being formed, and here were made the most important discoveries of the year. One of these is a portrait statue over 1.98 metres in height, lacking only a part of the nose and the left forearm. It is of early Roman date and represents a young man. Another statue, less well preserved, is very similar to the first in proportions and seems to have been



FIG. 3. BRONZE STATUE OF A ROMAN BOY, DATING FROM END OF FIRST CENTURY B. C., RECENTLY ACQUIRED BY THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART AND REPRODUCED BY THEIR PERMISSION.

carved as a pendant to it. Both exhibit close resemblances to the portraits of Augustus and his family and are therefore identified as Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the gandsons (and adopted sons) of Augustus. A third statue, though only the body from the neck to the knees was found, is a very good specimen of the "portrait in armor," of which the famous Augustus in the Vatican is the best-known example. On the breast-plate of the Corinthian statue is carved a gorgoneion and, below this, two Victories setting up a trophy. A fourth piece of sculpture is a perfectly pre-

served head from the statue of an emperor represented as a priest with his robe drawn over his head. The features suggest Augustus or Tiberius, but the identification is rendered difficult by the indication of a slight beard, which is unusual in portraits of those Emperors. Finally, an earlier period is represented by a small marble head from a high relief of exquisite workmanship, dating from the end of the fourth to the beginning of the third century B. C., which is much the most beautiful piece of sculpture yet found at Corinth.

*Report on the Excavations at Slack, England, 1914*

The excavations of the Roman Fort at Slack, near Huddersfield, commenced by Mr. Dodd last year, were resumed this summer on June 8, the University of Leeds again making a grant of £50 towards the cost of the labor. On an average, five men were employed throughout. On July 24 Mr. Dodd suspended work to join the Officers' Training Corps in camp, and the outbreak of the war and his subsequent receipt of a commission prevented him from continuing the excavation. I undertook to resume work, at Mr. Dodd's request, early in September, and carried it on until September 29. The total sum spent on wages amounted to nearly £53 for the whole season.

It will be remembered that last year the Granary, the Central "Official" Buildings, and the North and West Gateways were uncovered. This year Mr. Dodd discovered the remains of wooden barrack-buildings in the northwest corner of the fort, and the much destroyed foundations of a stone building immediately to the east of the area excavated last year. I practically completed the work in the neighborhood of the East Gateway, left

unfinished through Mr. Dodd's departure, and traced the road through this gate for more than twenty-five yards outside it, where it merged in an extensive paved area, of which the exact limits are not yet determined. In the same region the east rampart was further investigated and was found to present abnormal features of considerable interest; and in the north-east corner of the fort the well preserved stone foundations of a large barrack-building were almost completely uncovered, and planned.

The finds, among which the pottery is more plentiful than that found last year, bear out the tentative conclusions already reached as to the date of the construction and occupation of the fort (late 1st and early 2nd century) but do not call for detailed description. Among those which can be certainly dated is a *denarius* of Trajan, the first and only silver coin yielded in our two seasons' work; and a good specimen of an iron axe-head is perhaps worthy of special mention.

A. M. WOODWARD.

*University of Leeds.*



## BOOK CRITIQUES

BERNINI AND OTHER STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF ART. By Richard Norton. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1914.

These studies, of unusual value though in widely separated provinces of art, are remarkable for the clear, trenchant criticism they contain and for the firm catholicity of taste shown by the writer. Mr. Norton speaks with an authority and a directness such as can come only from one most intimately acquainted with the works whereof he treats. This volume is far from being any repetition of other people's information or criticism. It rings with sincerity and originality throughout. So original, indeed, are many of the opinions expressed that most readers will probably refuse to accept them. They are quite too shocking to their long-cherished and conventional ideas about art and artists. It is precisely for this rousing quality that the book is so valuable.

The first third of the book is devoted to Bernini, for whom Mr. Norton makes a magnificent and spirited apology, setting forth clearly the firm, serious, sensitive character of this much-misunderstood master, and passing in sympathetic review his more important works. The author then makes a valuable addition to art history by publishing for the first time a collection of sculptor's models by Bernini, now in the Brandegen Collection in America. These models are of the greatest interest and value in studying the art of Bernini, and help one to see his truly great qualities even better than his finished works. Mr. Norton further publishes and discusses a series of designs by Bernini for the Piazza of Saint Peter's.

The rest of the book is made up of essays upon widely varying phases of art, all characterized by remarkable erudition

and keen original criticism. The chapter on "Portraits" is particularly valuable as giving both a sound basis for judging either the painted or the sculptured portrait, and also for distinguishing the subtle differences between the Greek and Roman realism in portraiture. The chapter on "Pheidias and Michelangelo" is interesting and suggestive in pointing out unsuspected similarities between the spirit and the art of these two greatest masters of sculpture of such widely divergent epochs. The chapter on "A Head of Athena from Cyrene" derives a peculiar value from the fact that this beautiful head, so different from all other types of Athena, was discovered by Mr. Norton himself during his excavations at Cyrene.

The remaining chapters are taken up with a discussion of Giorgione—first, of the works traditionally and generally assigned to that painter; then, of "The True Giorgione," in which Mr. Norton revises the lists of former critics and makes a remarkable one of his own. This revision brings the roll of the great Venetian's works down to twenty-two pictures, including copies. The list contains "The Gypsy Madonna" in Vienna, until now universally given to Titian, a little known "Judgment of Solomon" at Kingston Lacy, and the "Head of Christ" in the collection of Mrs. Gardner in Boston. The familiar "Shepherd" at Hampton Court is dismissed as a copy by another hand of the Vienna "David." The most remarkable exclusion, however, is the "Fête Champêtre" of the Louvre. This Mr. Norton vigorously refuses to associate with Giorgione at all. He criticizes it as "at best only fanciful and pretty, but in no way striking," and his final verdict is "that it is merely a perfectly charming *pasticcio*." To this, as to many other

points in the book, many will take exception. But whether agreeing or disagreeing, no one can read this volume without receiving powerful and valuable aesthetic stimulation.

H. R. CROSS.

*University of Michigan.*

ARTIST AND PUBLIC. By Kenyon Cox.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

There is no better writer upon art today than Kenyon Cox, the author of this delightful volume of essays from the first of which it takes its name. His is the viewpoint of the artist as well as the scholar and his writings are critical in the truest and best sense. He is one who has something to say and he says it clearly, definitely and in a manner which engages attention. All through his writings there is evidence of strong conviction, but his reasoning is sound and his conclusions frankly sane.

The introductory essay is peculiarly significant, setting forth the difference in relationship of the artist and public today and in the past, and manifesting how the one is dependent upon the other. The second essay, on Jean Francois Millet, was written, the author declares, partly to illustrate an earlier essay on the various elements of art; the fourth, on Raphael as illustration of his theory of Design. The seventh, on Augustus Saint-Gaudens, is a personal tribute to the work of a fellow artist greatly loved and admired. In the *Illusion of Progress* Mr. Cox maintains that something new is not invariably something better, and suggests that unrest is often misinterpreted as progress. In his essay on *Two Ways of Painting* he contrasts in specific instances the classic with the modern point of view. The *American School* is a thoughtful

analysis of causes and conditions and is concluded with this very encouraging, if somewhat extraordinary statement. "It is because it (the American School) is least that of today that I believe our art may be that of tomorrow—it is because it is, of all art now going, that which has most connection with the past that I hope the art of America may prove to be the art of the future."

Mr. Cox is one who while living in the present and keeping well in touch with current tendencies, does not forget the past nor fail to recognize the authority of such monuments as were created in and have come to us from past ages.

LEILA MECHLIN.

MISS SCHUYLER'S ALIAS. By George Horton. The Gorham Press, Boston.

The scene is laid in Athens. The characters are Professor Goodwin Harkins of Connecticut, who excavates a Mycenaean beehive tomb on the slopes of Hymettus; Priscilla Bates, an American with a *penchant* for the ancient Greek costume; the Director of the American School; Prince Nicholas Georgevitch of Croatia, in search of a principality and an American fortune; Washington Laselle, Secretary of the American Legation; and the heroine, Jane Vandervoert Schuyler of Philadelphia, who, thinking that her many suitors are after her millions, drops her last name and dwells at the Spiti Merlin as an American schoolma'am. The final scene is laid at a house meeting of the Washington Society of the Archaeological Institute when Professor Goodwin Harkins, as the lecturer of the evening, throws upon the screen many illustrations of the ancient tomb and his wonderful finds. The novel has many exquisite bits of description of natural scenery and of the ancient monuments.

M. C.

